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Tugare Phratry:

(cābōge^{wō} half)

13. Āróre ċēbege^{wō}
14. Āróre ċēbege^{wō}
15. Ēwāguddu čereð kurigeð ċēbege^{wō}
16. Ēwāguddu-bo'pokeje^{wō} ċēbege^{wō}
17. Ēwāguddu baiaddada^a eten'manaāge
18. Ēwāguddu kujagoreð etu'ieemage
čābōge^{wō}
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čābōge^{wō} baiaddada^a (1)

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1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čābōge^{wō}
22. Apibore kujagoreð
23. Apibore čoreð
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreð
26. Paiwe kujagoreð

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ēwāguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

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of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection. As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obligations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest was particularly good, or because the family contains a high number of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of bigamy),² or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:
²[The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. p. 17--Analyst]

CULTURE

SUSTAINENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear.
114 Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koalowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

224 At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were pre-
[222] dominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals
[462] included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and
[156] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated
[231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 Food preparation.—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are
[263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is
[574] served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large
[342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall,
[345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of
[184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaças*

[Bororo da Campa Nha]

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space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with buriti palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments.

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people.

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
● 178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, ex-
tending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Culabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only
about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas,
one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[77] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becom-
ing smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken
by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice.
However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively
little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees
and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest;
weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the
ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but
they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools
and ornaments or just chatting.

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan
is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[538] two moieties except for two cases within the Echeræ moiety.
Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on.
Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups.
Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was es-
tablished by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborate. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[195] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by
many contemporary Bororo.

● 178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over
western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by
their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the
number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine
[162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children)

[163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people
[165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult
[733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds
[164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an informant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re-

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● 178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the

[224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non-
[226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch
[167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot-
167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept
177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

842 Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother
* 601 is terminologically expressed by the category imuga ("moth-
er"), of which the only member is one's own mother.

Marriage

582 Ideally, marriage should be contracted with some of the
lineages from the opposite moiety which are in yorubodare
• (178) relationship ("alliance") to one's own lineage. Though, be-
cause of depopulation, this is rarely the case today, the
Bororo are still proud when they can say: i muqu paga
karegure, itoredule apore imugure, ikoge, ivire, tadare
imugure which can be translated, "I do not live in this place
(his wife's house) just by chance. I stay with my wife, I
104 stay among my spouses." It is difficult to render into Eng-
lish the Bororo paga which I translated "by chance." (The
Brazilians have the adverb "a toa" that renders it better.
This adverb is used very much by the Bororo when they speak
Portuguese.) The sentence means that the man is married ac-
582 cording to tradition. In saying "I stay with my wife," the
Bororo means to say, "I stay with a woman who, by prescrip-
tion, should be my wife." Every story which describes the
establishment of special relationship between two clans by
virtue of some gift has the same conclusion "... and so he
made them his yorubodare ("allié"), his husbands, and his
wives" (Oinore ure uyorubodaredo, ukogedo, uviredo apo).

585 A marriage ceremony is very simple. The mother of the
girl brings food to the house of the boy, and, if he accepts
the offer, he will eat the food (Colbacchini and Alibisetti

553 this statement, but if we look at the lineage structure and ideology, things become clearer. For example: Kaigu was the founder of one lineage in the clan of Bokodori Echeræ. He had many names, but the one used most often was Kaigu. Theoretically he should have transmitted five or six of his clanic names to his nephew, the first born son of his eldest sister (utuye boetojwudo onaregedu imedu boetojwuy: lit., "his older sister/ the first born one/ her child/ the first born one"). When Kaigu became old he left it to his nephew to perform most of the ceremonial duties, and when he died his nephew became the head of the lineage. He inherited all the rights, the duties, the place of the house in the village, and the names of the dead Kaigu. Then he is Kaigu,

827 he has a nephew, and the story repeats itself. Any living Bororo is considered to be not only the descendant of a long line of ancestors but also identical to all of them. When I wondered about some contradictory deeds ascribed to the great chief Baitogogo in the myths, my informant explained to me that there were many Baitogogo: one did this, the other did that. On another day, when I did not understand the name of a particular hero mentioned in the myth, he pointed at a man passing by and said, "He did it!" For the passerby had the same name as the hero. Thus conceptually the Bororo consider themselves equivalent to their matrilineal ancestors.

553 Today, as the Bororo population is dying out, occasionally
178 a child does not have any classificatory brother from

- 553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
• 178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other
[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The
latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo
think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite
moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does
not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the
child, the majority of the names given should be taken from
the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but
one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to
* [601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called iyedaga, but the child will not usually
have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage
unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case,
members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct
one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

- 881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that
initiation is the rite by which one has established a spe-
cial relationship with his father's matrilineage. That
613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands
traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of
lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange
women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father
582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically,
Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and
his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

582 among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are
theoretically members of those lineages, even though a per-
613 son might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's
881 yorubodare, Initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen
[827] from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the
Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their an-
cestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and
wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding
lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily under-
stand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the
lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my
yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my
children."

881 While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of
[585] mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the
same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie
from among several possible, but while marriage can be and
often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts
throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity
and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full anal-
[144] ysis cannot be given here. A good description of the cere-
mony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I,
[178] pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojarí and those of the vil-
lages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned
[563] it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this
ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Torí

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

- 178 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here,
613 allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase
in population and consequent clustering of the members of the
same lineage within a single village can motivate the less
important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other
places where they will be more appreciated and will have the
chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies.
- [342] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage
[591] sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her
husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can
become more independent, but there is always the risk that
she and her children will in time be classified as younger
brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names
[36] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three im-
portant consequences of an expanding population: a. founding
of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among
villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 With the decrease in population that has been going on
178 from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization,
361 the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-
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- 177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
- [551] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
- 613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki
Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the vil-
lage of Aljeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many
Kiye in Aljeri, but all of them were sons of Echerse, i.e.,

613 they were descendants of intramociety unions. X was the only
626 man with a Tugarege (Palwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted
● 178 to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo.

In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo.

Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (q) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was

[52] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 Another possibility open to a man without descendants
64 (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the
namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within
his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties
himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have ac-
cumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different
lineages, from several different clans.

• 178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in
which they had previously been only spectators, they have now
become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[172] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the
symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has
become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the
homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and
child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly
arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the
Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with
civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining
are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt
that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important
heroes.

772 in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their
773 father was a man, their mother was a doe.¹ They try to pluck
824 all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to be-
302 come more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort.

The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

178 Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story
769 is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe—the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally
787 cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.
763

¹ According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

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000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was
possible for me to verify.

- 142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at
times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the
water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at
times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen
walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in
many places despite being renovated three times a year.
Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman,
or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
• 178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas
164 in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
262 many young men and women have already lost a large part
[827] of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods
lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always
very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not
able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any
case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of ouassu /babassu/, and the women,
under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But
those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which
the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently
worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and
narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

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578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In
the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire
these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with
their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing
it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in
silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would
try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or
521 when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
152 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to
be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing
this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend,
gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the
/148/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and
slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the
world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive;
and easily become irritated when someone finds something
to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
593 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not
going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian,
and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman."
As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide.
It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would
happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the
other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives
liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
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hole pierced in both ear lobes, so that the individual wears a pair of these earrings. The one represented in Figure 1, which has a tooth above and one below, is peculiar to the clan of the Aroia; it was worn by Mario Bokodori Kudde, pictured in Plate 21, even though this man does not belong to said clan. /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ But he had killed an ounce and had given the cadaver to the Aroia, delivering with this, a recently deceased member of that clan from being incarnated in this beast. He then received, as it is the custom in such a case, gifts of honor from the Aroia, especially the bow splendidly decorated with plumes, and permission to make and to wear "without fear and shame" all the ornaments with which their clan distinguishes itself from the others. One can obtain this permission from any clan as soon as a dead ounce is handed over to it, delivering in this way one of their dead from incarnation in this feline. I still wish to observe that the wife of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Plates 19 and 20) was an Aroia and, therefore, owned earrings like those which the husband wore. The same man told me that in the past these earrings were worn the opposite way, that is with the points turned upward.

[431]

[178]

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehnelde gives a very clear description from the year
1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume
27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 trav-
eled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the
Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements
in No. 1 of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen
Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports
from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of
Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied
the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in
bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications
especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and
was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[197] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were
the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to
be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near
Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[433] and captured 50. * Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the
chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism
as a name exchange and told everyone
proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the
Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in
Mato Grosso, José da S^a. Fraga; they proved to be very stub-
born about farming, however, planted only a little maize,
batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves
chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[177] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and
whiskey.